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Chapter Five

Some Religious Problems of Today

I

Old and New

121 The studies in this volume are largely concerned with the traditional forms of ritual and worship: they reflect a closed culture as yet little disturbed by modern life. The question can be put whether the picture they present is actually still valid. Has contact with modern trends, ideas, and institutions not changed all this fundamentally?

771 178 121 For the agrarian inhabitants of Bali's *desas* – which still constitute the majority of the island's population – it would seem to me that the question must be answered in the negative. All the pieces of the cultural and religious mosaic are still there, arranged according to the old patterns. How deep-rooted the traditional forms and usages still are appears from Franken's study.[1] In its rise and development, the postwar movement Franken sketches demonstrates Balinese theogony in action and helps us to understand how the worship of such gods as the Moslem and Chinese deities described below by Grader[2] was able to evolve.

178 Whether, to what extent, and in which direction the content of the traditional forms is going to change for the people of the *desa* is difficult to determine. For many among the modernists and the intellectuals – 'a creative minority', Toynbee would call them – it definitely is changing. The modern influences and currents affecting all of Indonesia have naturally not passed this island by, even though it has been less stirred by them than territories which, owing to economic or political circumstances, are intensely involved in the world at large. In Franken's study it appears that as a group the modernists were critical of the Jayaprana affair,

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though some of them could not resist the enticement and attraction of the movement. It was no doubt from the latter that the impulse emanated to honour the dead of the resistance movement in Jayaprana and thus to give a nationalistic and anti-feudal colouring to his cremation. In this way they more or less consciously attempted to give a new content to traditional forms. And the combination seems to have been a success at that time.

Such a combination of old and new is not possible in every situation and for every person. In some cases Western-type education, modern medical methods, contact with religions and cultures with another orientation, and the like may lead to general doubts of the meaning and the value of the old religious practices. The old then becomes meaningless in form and content, and so should be rejected: the money that is spent on temple festivals and rites or on individual ceremonies can, in many people's opinion, be better spent. This was, for instance, the thinking of the head of a Balinese family who stipulated that he was to be cremated in the simplest way and that the money saved should be used to create a scholarship.

How will the antithesis between the old and the new develop on Bali; what response will Balinese culture and religion give to this challenge? A non-Balinese, an outsider, is hardly the person to make predictions. 'A dog barking at a coconut squirrel: how will it ever get hold of it', is the judgement Balinese wisdom would pass on such an attempt. Rather, let us consider the view of a few modern Balinese on the subject.

Among them are some who expect great things from the fruitful influence of India. Their attitude will be considered below.[3] Others will not own to anything of the sort. They believe that the Balinese religion can retain its validity and vitality in modern times. If reforms are necessary, they can be made within the existing framework: there is no need to go a-borrowing or a-begging of someone else. One of this latter group has argued that Balinese young people who become acquainted with other religions tend as a result to participate more actively, and with more conviction, in their own religion.[4]

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Monotheism and Religious Freedom

Earlier in this introductory essay consideration was given to the figure of Sang Hyang Widi,[4] which was interpreted as the synthesizing unity of all antitheses, standing beyond the phenomena and forms of offerings and rituals. In him we encountered the strange wavering between the impersonal and the personal which is also to be found elsewhere, for example in Hinduism with *brahman*, the Oversoul, alongside Brahmā, the god.

It would seem to me that in the comments on religion which I have come across in recent years more attention is being given to Sang Hyang Widi than was the case before the last world war. In a booklet giving a brief résumé of the Çāngkhya doctrine this godhead is made the equivalent to Paramasiwa, and is called "the Essence of Life, the Essence of Origin". A Balinese ethical work says that "life [the soul] is the embodiment of Sang Hyang Widi ..."[7] According to reports of the Balinese Bureau of Religious Affairs it can be said of all religious groups on Bali that they "believe in a Supreme Being which they call Widi": "a living faith in everyday existence ..." The Balinese *rapporteur*, one of the most knowledgeable scholars of his island's culture and religion, is aware that this statement is not easy to reconcile with the religious realities of Bali, with its many temples and offerings, gods and deities. He recognizes that the people of the *desas* also believe in those gods and deities, and usually cannot give any elucidation of the difference between them and Widi. This may be explained, he says, by the lack of religious instruction, as a result of which the ordinary people of Bali do not know well enough the essential traits of their own religion (in this case the unity behind the diversity of the religious phenomena). And that lack of instruction is in its turn the result of the deeply rooted inclination to preserve the secrecy of all religious insight which is more than superficial.[8]

If Widi is written about in Indonesian, the term used is *Tuhan*, literally 'Lord', the most general indication in modern Indonesian

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lage of Pĕnyabangan there are two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕmĕsangans*, and two *pĕngitukans*.[15] In Marga Tĕngah two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, two *pĕmalungans*, and two *pĕnguhunans*.[16] In Sĕming two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, and two *pĕmalungans*.[17] In Pilan two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, and two *pĕmalungans*.[18] More such lists might be cited from the available material, but the data provided here are enough to indicate that there are three pairs of main officials – *kĕbayans*, (*ka*)*baus*, and (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, – and that these are always followed by other pairs, frequently but not always headed by a pair of *pĕnyarikans*.

As soon as foreign (that is to say Hindu-Javanese) influences began to transform and simplify this system of *desa* administration, either some pairs were omitted or else pairs were reduced to single representatives. This can be seen happening everywhere. Leaving out of consideration the so-called apanage territory[19] we find the following situation. Among the mountain villages of Gianyar, Pĕngaji has one *kĕbayan*, one (*ka*)*bau*, one (*kĕ*)*singgukan*, one *pĕnyarikan*, and so forth.[20] In Bukit there are one *kĕbayan*, one (*ka*)*bau*, and six *gurus*, two of which have the title *guru pĕnanggupan*.[21] In Mantĕring the old names are still recalled, but the functions are no longer known.[22] Pausan displays a semi-complete type with two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, and two *pĕmalungans*, but only one (*kĕ*)*singgukan*.[23] And in Sĕlat, an old village in Karangasĕm, there is one *pasĕk* (to be returned to below), one *kĕbayan*, one *ngukuhin*, one *pĕnyarikan*, and one *juru*.[24]

Turning to consider the situation in the villages of Buleleng, one still finds two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, two *singgukans*, and one *pĕnyarikan* in Pachung[25] and Bangkah;[26] two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, two *singgukans*, but no *pĕnyarikan* in Sĕmbiran;[27] two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, and one *pĕnyarikan* in Tĕgal;[28] and four *kĕbayans*, two *baus* and one *pĕnyarikan* in Bĕngkala.[29]

From there on the number of old-style functionaries grows less and less; one after another of them vanishes and the number of newer functionaries gradually increases. Then they, too, begin

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178 624 to disappear, until there are *desas* with one *klihan* and one *pĕnyarikan*, or finally with a *klihan* who is at the same time *pĕnyarikan*. In all this development a force can be detected towards substitution of a monolithic system of village authority for the old bipartite *desa* administration and replacement of the old indigenous set-up by Hindu forms of royal power and religious penetration (in temple administration).

624 This evolution is to be seen in every field. Though in earlier times the *kĕbayans* were the chief officiants in the temples, eventually they had to give way to the *pĕmangkus*, with the villages where *kĕbayans* and *pĕmangkus* are both represented in the village administration forming an intermediate stage. Whereas in earlier times the supreme authority in the village also was in the hands of the *kĕbayans*, in northern Bali (and very frequently in older villages in Karangasĕm) they were replaced by the *pasĕk*,[40] a sole hereditary village head (as opposed to the pair of *kĕbayans*, who had attained their position owing to seniority). An even newer type is the *bĕndesa*, first under the *pasĕk*, then on an equal footing, and finally superior to him. But this village head in turn has had to give way to the most recent functionary, the *klihan*.

[622]

175 [615] 624 This evolution can perhaps best be summarized as follows. Originally the *desa* was divided into two phratries, with one set of functionaries for each phratry and with the highest social authority in the village coinciding completely with the highest priestly function. Then came a tendency towards monism, imported by Hinduism, and as a result a concentration of the village administration in the hands of a single person, as was desired by the Hindu ruler, and in the religious sphere a division of functions between this single secular village authority and the religious officiants in the temples (no longer village authorities).

621 Though even now a large number of villages of the traditional type which have been able to maintain themselves despite every pressure testify to the older Balinese situation, the vast majority of the Balinese *desas* demonstrate that on the village level, as elsewhere, the system of thought is no longer essentially indigenous Austronesian in character, but Hindu-Balinese.

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Though the *pasĕk* is also to be found in other regions, for example in Karangasĕm, the frequency of his occurrence as village head in Buleleng *desas* can be taken as proof that they are new villages founded by southern Balinese. Partly because of the hereditary nature of the function, the *pasĕk* as unitary village head points towards a village founder still remembered and recognized as a forefather of the present *pasĕk*. This colonization from southern Bali probably also explains why there are so few *puras pusĕh* in Buleleng, for a *pura pusĕh* points ideally towards a deified ancestor and village founder who has long since been forgotten as a human being.

The *desa* of Galungan presents a remarkable case: the administration consists of an hereditary *pasĕk* and a *kĕbayan* chosen according to seniority. The *pasĕk* is here the chief priest in the four village temples (including a *pura pusĕh*), and there are no *pĕmangkus*. This, then, is again a mixed type. Some villages in Karangasĕm, too, have a *pasĕk* beside a *kĕbayan* or a *bĕndesa*. In such cases the *pasĕk* is in charge of the *pura pusĕh*. Hence these villages are an intermediate link between the older, *pasĕk*-less villages with a *pura pusĕh* and the newer *pasĕk* villages without such a temple.

There is, then, a clear evolution from communal to individual authority in the village administration, just as there is in land rights. For closer acquaintance with the religious character of the village administration, not only Korn's monograph on the village of Tĕnganan is most readable, but also what he has to say regarding the villages of Timbrah, Sĕlat, and Siděmĕn in Karangasĕm and what Liefrinck writes about such villages as Kubutambahan,[41] Bulian,[42] Dĕpaa,[43] Bila,[44] Mĕnyali,[45] and Sidatapa.[46]

These comments on the evolution of the village administration may be followed by a few notes on village meetings. As the mountain villages around Lake Batur demonstrate, the earlier pattern was that people met in the *pura bale agung* at full moon and in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon.[47] Often – and this, too, is the older situation – only the core villagers gather in the *pura bale agung*, while for the meetings in the *pura dalĕm* either all the inhabitants or only the non-core villagers assemble.

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like landscapes in which every branch and every leaf is carefully painted, done with the love of a Persian miniaturist, a Cranach, a Breughel or a Douanier Rousseau.

When I could speak fair Malay, I discovered it was not enough. Malay was the trade language between Balinese and foreigners, spoken mainly by the new generations of the towns, so I started to learn a little Balinese to be able to understand the most interesting people of the island — the older men and women — but just then we had to leave our new home to return to America. On the way back we stopped in Paris, where the Colonial Exposition was going on. There we found friends from Bali — the Tjokordes of Ubud, feudal lords of Spies's village, the leaders of the troupe of dancers and musicians that were the sensation of the exposition. With them I continued to study the difficult Balinese language, because I had then and there made up my mind to return to Bali as soon as possible. I had some random notes, and Rose had taken hundreds of photographs. Someone in Paris suggested publishing an album of the pictures, with text from the notes, which I later decided were disconnected and quite unsatisfactory. We had grown so homesick for Bali that the only thing left to do was to return, so in the summer of 1933, partly assisted by a generous scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation and partly with our savings, we sailed back to Bali.

At first we were disappointed; the tourist rush was in full swing and we began to hear that missionaries, unknown in Bali up to the time we left, were making converts, and everybody talked of trouble on their account. In Den Pasar a great many women had taken to wearing clumsy blouses, the young were developing contempt for Balinese ways, and the people complained of poverty, another novelty in Bali. Dutch gold currency had gone up, and even there, where trade is unimportant, prices had crashed to bottom levels. Only twenty-five cents could be obtained for one of the great sheafs of rice that before brought ten times as much; a cow could be bought for five guilders, and a pig for one. The Balinese were unable to obtain cash to pay back taxes, and their

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178 lands were being sold at auction. Newly acquired luxuries – imported articles – took their precious cash, and at first the situation seemed desperate. We feared we had made a mistake in
114 returning, and to escape the tourist-ridden, commercial Den Pasar, we went to live with our friend Spies in his beautiful house in Tjampuan, in the mountains near Ubud. We remained there for a few months among new Balinese friends, guided by the experience of Spies, working and collecting the material for this book.

But we missed our old friends and the activity of our former
114 village home. We were convinced that it was in the district of
123 Badung around Den Pasar, despite the superficial changes, that the most sumptuous feasts were held and dances and plays were most frequent. I had now a teacher and translator who gave me daily lessons and helped with manuscripts. With Spies and the teacher, we moved the entire household back to Belaluan, to our old house, the home of Gusti Oka, who had in the meantime married a new wife, a beautiful young princess. Our dear friend Siloh Biang, Gusti's first wife, had fought with Sagung, her rival, and had run away to her mother, but our return brought Siloh Biang back. She preferred to remain with us in our part of the house rather than with Gusti and his new wife, and we often had to act as mediators in their family quarrels. At times this created difficult diplomatic situations. Some of our old friends had died, others had married or moved away, and the little dancers who only left our front porch to go to bed at night had grown into serious young women of thirteen or fourteen years of age. We became again members of the quarter of the village, the *banjdjar* of Belaluan, home of one of the finest orchestras on the island, the *gong belaluan*, of which Gusti was a member. We had open door to the frequent local festivals, and within our compound we had opportunity to observe the daily life of the Balinese and to collect first-hand information for this book. The details given
114 here, however, cannot be taken as applying to the entire island;
184 each community has its own code, and what is law in one place

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The chewing of 49
betel-nut is the first gesture of hospitality and the main social 574
pastime of the entire archipelago. To chew betel, a piece of the 276
green nut of the betel palm is dabbed with a little lime, wrapped in pepper leaves, *sirih*, and the whole chewed together with a large wad of shredded tobacco that is held under a monstrously protruding lower lip. The combination of betel, *sirih*, and lime produces an abundant flow of saliva, red as blood, and the betel addict spits constantly, leaving crimson splotches wherever he goes. After certain guests departed, our house-boy always had to wash the veranda steps because they looked as if a murder had been committed on them. Today betel-chewing is not favoured 276
by the younger generation, not only because it looks so disagree- [178]
able, but because it spoils the teeth. The older the person, the fonder he is of betel, and the ingredients are always kept on hand in boxes with little compartments or in special satchels of woven pandanus. Old men without teeth have a special bamboo tube [886]
with an iron rod to mash the various ingredients together. The *sirih*, betel, and lime are presented to guests in little ready-made [431]
packages often beautifully decorated with streamers of delicately cut-out palm-leaf. They are called *tjanang* or *baséh*, a gift.

A host must act as servant to his guests, himself attending to 574
their comfort and not partaking of the refreshments. Meals are 264
also served by the host, even if he has servants and assistants, and he can eat only after the guests have finished. If the visitors come from another village, they are expected to stay for the night and even for days at a time. The place of honour in the house is then assigned to them. After a reasonable period of time the visit is repaid and the presents reciprocated.

Very strict are the rules between men and women. On public 562
occasions men and women keep to themselves in separate groups, 576
and people from Gianyar are shocked to see the sexes mingle in Badung while watching a show. In the same manner the people of Badung are disgusted because in Tabanan men and women [515]
bathe near together. It is rude to look into a public bath and even worse to enter it unless to bathe. Then the other bathers become figuratively invisible.

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dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning the head of animals.

The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occasions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

The language problem of Bali has been further complicated by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

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622 approval, but his office may be hereditary if the son of a popular chief is believed to possess his father's virtues. Should he be found to be undesirable, he is politely asked to resign and a new *kliang* is elected. A good village chief is a popular and influential man although he may be poor and simple. Once elected and after the choice has been sanctioned by the gods, he cannot decline to hold office, except under severe penalty. Even then his services are not rewarded, and the advantages he enjoys by his position are insignificant; he receives a slightly larger share of land, perhaps a double share of the food distributed from offerings, and he is free of certain duties. He does not receive any salary despite the burden of his obligations and responsibilities; he has to administer the society, preside over the meetings, manage and organize all of the *desa* festivals. He shares the executive [624] duties of the *desa* with the *penyarikan*, a lesser official (who is not, however, under his authority), a scribe and a number of messengers, none of whom are rewarded.

178 623 Under the rule of the princes the system was greatly undermined, especially where the villages grew too large to be effectively managed by such a simple patriarchal organization. In the conquered territories the lands were gradually taken away from the *desa* and its authority was weakened until the function of the *desa* is now reduced to the upkeep of the village institutions, the celebration of village festivals, and religious ceremonies. The *desa* remains, however, the bulwark of the *adat* law, the net of traditional regulations owned by each village, in which all possible cases are carefully worked out in the most remarkable simple logic.

THE BANDJAR

621 474 575 As the *desa* Government lost control over the social and economic organization and as the village grew, simultaneously with the power of the local prince, it became divided into smaller communities within the *desa*, quarters or wards, the *bandjars*: cooperative societies of people bound to assist each other in

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434 were always busy in the ricefields, but rice cannot be considered
511 an important source of cash income. The Balinese grow rice for
[243] personal consumption and for offerings, selling only what is left over from the second planting, which they regard as unfit for offerings to the gods.

Their main source of income is in the sale of cattle and pigs,
434 and of coconuts for making copra; a second source is from coffee,
443 rice, and tobacco which they sell for export to Chinese middle-
463 men. The trades and crafts are incidental sources of income and in the markets one may see people selling pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth, together with the vendors of vegetables, dried fish, spices, and flowers. Some craftsmen, such as the gold- and silver-workers, the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers of palm, and pottery-makers, have regular incomes, but they remain independent artisans. The Balinese men work for wages only spasmodi-
[461] cally and as an adventure. In the larger towns they engage as chauffeurs, clerks, and servants — positions which are regarded as superior. With the affluence of tourists, some now derive an income from the sale of sculptures, paintings, silverwork, weavings, and so forth.

Ruled by the principle of live and let live, landowners allow
465 others without land to share their crop in exchange for help. There are, however, organizations of labourers (*seka medjukut*) who work the earth for a communal wage. They are paid by time
[405] recorded by water-clocks (*gandji*) similar to those used in cock-fights: a half coconut-shell with a small hole in the bottom, placed in a basin of water, the time it takes to sink being the measure. The fees are arranged by the head of the group.

At the present time, however, the economic balance has, tem-
• 178 porarily at least, ceased to exist. With taxes and imported com-
511 modities on the increase, and the price of Balinese products for export at rock-bottom levels, the whole population has come to find itself in need of cash, not in *kepengs* (Chinese cash valued at a fraction of a cent with which they buy the daily necessities), but in Dutch guilders worth from five hundred to

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seven hundred *kepeng* according to the exchange. There is no demand for their insignificant products, and the deflated Dutch currency has become harder than ever to obtain.

The Balinese are more and more eager for the " advantages of civilization " in the form of inferior foreign cloth, bicycles, flash-lights, aniline dyes, and motor-cars, and if their miserable earnings are not taken away by the Arab merchants it is only because they are already due for back taxes. Besides a tax on each household, there is a *sawa* tax (*padjeg*) and a tax (*upeti*) on dry grounds bearing coconut and coffee trees. The most hated of taxes is that paid every time a Balinese kills a pig, no matter how small, for which he needs a certificate. This has led to clandestine slaughter and with it the reduction of the pig supply, and the reward promised to denouncers has introduced the element of discord into otherwise unified communities. Dr. Korn, the authority on Balinese sociology, says that the population would prefer an export tax on cattle to the troublesome slaughter tax.

With the relentless drain of the island's wealth, poverty, too, is on the increase and the Balinese are threatened with the loss of their lands through failure to pay taxes. They have been forced to sell whatever they possessed of value — antiques, fine brocades, jewellery, and even the bits of gold that decorate their krisses — to tourists and gold-hoarders, while theft and prostitution are on the increase. It is to be feared that if present conditions continue, the simple and well-organized life of the Balinese will be seriously disrupted and their institutions will collapse as a result of the unavoidable social unrest.

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The custom of filing the teeth has a deep significance among primitive peoples, usually as a form of initiation ceremonies at puberty. Others tattoo or scar their bodies, and even Westerners, who are horrified at the absurd customs of savages, practise initiation tortures in the form of sabre duels, beatings, featherings, or simply breaking their noses at college football games.

The Balinese file their teeth when a boy or a girl comes of age; not in sharp points like some Africans, or down to the gums like the Sumatrans and other Indonesians; but they simply file off a small portion of the upper incisors and upper canines to produce an even line of short teeth, also wearing them down to smooth their outer surface. Undoubtedly the custom of filing the teeth (*mesangí, mepandés*) had its origin in initiation rites. As we have seen, the teeth are not only filed to make them beautiful, but also blackened, and it is possible that, like the custom of cutting the rice stalks at harvesting-time with a small blade carefully hidden in the palm of the hand, the filing and blackening of the teeth may in some way be connected with the fear of offending, or hurting, the rice soul. Today, as I have said, young people are giving up chewing betel-nut, and the custom of blackening the teeth is disappearing. It is mostly elderly people who display black caverns for mouths, oozing with blood-red betel juice.

The filing should be performed preferably at puberty, but the ceremony is expensive because of fees, guests, banquet, offerings and so forth, and usually only the well-to-do can afford it then. Although it is not longer regarded as essential, many people have their teeth filed later in life if they were not filed during youth. It is believed that a person may be denied entrance into the spirit world if his teeth are not filed, and often the teeth of a corpse are filed before cremation so that he will not look like a demon, a *raksasa*, the long canines of whom stick out through the cheeks like a wild boar's.

The filing takes place on an auspicious day after the person is blessed by a *pedanda*. The boy or girl may not go out of the

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of her ancestral gods and adopts her husband's. The emissaries go to the girl's house wearing krisses and in refined language they point to the virtues of the boy, to his good intentions, and to the advantages of the union. Reluctantly the girl's father gives in, but not until the amount of the "bride-purchase" money (*patumbas wadon*) has been settled. I was told in Den Pasar that the sum may vary from ten thousand to forty thousand *kepeng*, eight to thirty-two *ringgit* (silver dollars)[6] or even to as much as a hundred *ringgit*, which in normal times would be equivalent to 125,000 *kepeng*, quite a fortune for people that buy with *kepeng* the daily necessities of life.[7]

Mapadik. It may happen that the head of a prominent family of caste requests the daughter of a friend or relative as wife for his son to bring two great families closer together by a bond of blood. Such prearranged marriages are decided upon at times when the boy and the girl are still children, and the marriage is performed as soon as possible after the girl comes of age and before they fall in love with someone else. This must not be misconstrued as a form of the much publicized child-marriage of India; such marriages are rare, they do not take place until the girl is a woman, there is no law that enforces them, and there is

[6] Normally a *ringgit* is worth one gold dollar: two and a half guilders. There were 500 kepeng in one guilder in 1930, although in 1933 the Dutch guilder had gone up to 700 *kepeng*.

[7] In Buleléng brides are more expensive than in South Bali; Lieffrink stated the price there as from 400 to 600 *ringgit*, and Van Eck put it between 100 guilders to 600 (or from 40 to 240 *ringgit*), but Dr. Korn, the latest authority, mentions in his *Adatrecht* that in Balinese law documents the sum is seldom above 20,000 *kepeng* (16 *ringgit*), and consequently the price would be lower for a girl of low caste. The price is further depreciated for widows, the divorced, and so forth, while the rate goes up to foreigners, for palace women, or in case of forceful kidnapping. Perhaps the rate is exaggerated and it is possible that brides are getting cheaper with the gradual impoverishment of Bali. It is not without reason that Korn believes that the ransom money cannot be taken literally as a price for the girl, since the trousseau she takes along is often more valuable than the money paid for her. The ransom for a widow is not paid to her parents but to her parents-in-law. In prearranged marriages (*mapadik*) there is no ransom money, since many presents and personal services are made by the bridegroom to the girl's father. There is no money paid if the bride's father has no male descendants and he wishes to adopt his son-in-law as a *sentana*, a legitimate son for the purpose of inheritance. Korn suggests that the money is paid rather as ransom to the house gods and not to the parents.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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532 [536] stylized wayangs; their outline is always in profile, while in Balinese paintings a face in profile is never found. However, the influence of these forms in the æsthetic education of children was patent when Jane Belo distributed paper and water-colours among the children of the small village of Sayan, to see what children without artistic training would do; the majority turned out pictures that were arrangements of elementary interpretations of *wayang* shapes.

178 532 Together with sculpture, painting underwent a liberating revolution after boys from around Ubud started to paint pictures in a "new" style. These were curious scenes from daily life on backgrounds of Balinese landscapes and village scenes, a mixture of realism and of the formal stylistic, with naïve figures of ordinary Balinese: a woman feeding chickens, men working in the fields, a cremation, and a dance performance, subjects that were never attempted before by Balinese painters.

This developed rapidly into a more mature, naturalistic style, producing a new crop of fine artists, each with a definite individual mark, such as I Sobrat, Madé Griya, and Gusti Nyoman from Ubud, Ida Bagus Anom from Mas, and the group of young painters from Batuan who draw fantastic forests and strange figures in half-tone against solid black backgrounds. These artists were encouraged by Spies and the Dutch painter Bonnet, who bought their pictures and provided them with materials; being careful, however, to keep undesirable influences from them, and helping them to sell their work in the museum of Den Pasar, a clearing-house where only pictures of high quality are exhibited.

[177] New materials increased the possibilities of the newly liberated art. The introduction of European paper, Chinese ink, hair brushes, and steel pens resulted in a new style of pictures in black and white, mosaics of delicate black lines with washes of various tones of greys and black, often touched with gold and red. But there are also formal paintings on wood or cloth done in the old Balinese pigments in which they attempted to give atmosphere

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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and mood through colour: night scenes in beautifully harmonized colours that are decidedly a step forward from the limitations of the pure vermilion, blue, and ochre of the old-style paintings. Besides the scenes from daily life, the modern Balinese painters paint episodes of mythology in which the general conception has become freed from the old conventional rules. There are the same elegant gods, beautiful princesses, and other fantastic characters, painted among jungles in which every tree and plant is drawn with each leaf carefully outlined and shaded, jungles that have been wrongly compared with those of the douanier Rousseau, but which resemble more the drawing of Beardsley and Persian or Indian miniatures, none of which the Balinese artists have ever seen. Favourite subjects are from the Balinese Æsop's fables, the *tantri* stories, in which the artists find amusing incidents between animals living in the tapestry-like forests of fantastic leaves and flowers.

The birth of individualism rescued Balinese painting from its latent state and placed it on the same level as the emancipated sculpture — new arts that, considering the searching intensity and liveliness of the Balinese spirit, will perhaps develop unpredictable achievements.

The Crafts: Perhaps one of the most charming qualities of the Balinese mentality is the happy combination of the primitive simplicity in which they live, with a highly refined and rather decadent taste. The Balinese are a people who retain a close contact with the soil, living practically out of doors in simple thatched houses, using artifacts belonging to a primitive culture and going ordinarily almost nude; but they gather for festivals in elaborate buildings of carved stone and dress in silks and gold to enjoy themselves, worshipping the forces of nature by means of flowers, good food, music, dancing, and works of art that only the most highly developed technical skill can produce.

In sharp contrast with their super-elaborated sculpture, painting, and dramatic arts, are the purely functional objects of daily

2: Covarrubias , R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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gods. In the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* it is mentioned that the seven principal *dedari* were made from a precious stone that was split into seven parts. Before dancing for the assembled gods, the nymphs, the legend says, walked three times around them in the usual respectful manner; the gods became lovesick, and since their dignity prevented them from turning around, Indra sprung many eyes, and Brahma developed four faces.

Balinese dancing was, perhaps, originally restricted to the ritual, but the religious dance has become more and more theatrical; characters that were once frightful demons are now tamed to perform for the amusement of the crowd. There are, however, still many purely religious or magical dances; local priests (*pemangku*, *kabayan*, and so forth) of the old communities still dance solemnly at temple feasts, in front of the altars, holding incense-burners, even going into a trance and walking in fire. Only in Bali have I seen wrinkled old women with white hair dancing to amuse the gods, splendidly unashamed of what would be normally the attribute of youth. At temple feasts they perform the *mendét* and the *redjang*, two dances mainly for "aged" women — married women — with offerings of food to the visiting deities.

Although there are dances of a purely demonstrative type that interpret the music, dancing in Bali cannot be considered as an art separate from the theatre. In fact, the arts of the theatre are so closely allied that there is no word in Balinese meaning "theatre." No Balinese would think of separating a show into its component parts or, on the other hand, think a show complete that did not contain music and dancing. They divide their theatre rather according to the style of the story, which in turn dictates its music and the style of its technique. So, for example, the stories of the *Ramayana* take the shadow, or *wayang wong* form, the historical plays are the *topeng*, and love stories the *ardja*, and so forth. The following are the most important Balinese dances and plays:

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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with long sticks after the unburned pieces of wood are taken away. Water is poured over the embers, and the remaining bits of bone with some ashes are piled into a little mound which is covered with palm-leaves. Green branches of *dadap* are tied to each of the four posts of the cremation pavilion, and surrounded by a rope of white yarn, thus closing it "to forget the dead." The remaining ashes are then blessed and placed in an urn, a coconut inscribed with the magic *ong* and wrapped in white cloth. It is customary that this be done just as the sun has begun to set. A new procession is formed for the march to the sea, where the ashes will be disposed of. On arrival at the seashore, or at the river if the sea is too far away, the priest wades into the water to ask of the sea or the river spirit to carry the ashes safely out. The ashes are then carefully strewn over the waters and the whole congregation bathes, to cleanse themselves before returning home in the darkness.

THE SACRIFICE OF WIDOWS

Cremation rites have remained practically unchanged for the last three hundred years, except perhaps for the suppression of the notorious Indian custom of suttee, the sacrifice of widows of deceased notables, burned alive on their husband's pyre. This custom seems to have enjoyed great popularity at one time among the Balinese aristocracy, although today it has become merely a legend. A hundred years ago the pioneer historian of the Malay Archipelago, John Crawfurd, gave us the first English account of a widow-burning that took place in 1633, when the Dutch sent a mission to Bali to gain the prince of Gelgel, then sole sovereign, as their ally against the Sultan of Mataram, who was driving attacks on Batavia. The Dutch found the Balinese king making preparations for the cremation of his wife and his two eldest sons. The manuscript account of the mission was translated by a Monsieur Prevost and published in an early *Histoire des Voyages*. Among the passages of the Dutch narrative quoted by Crawfurd are the following:

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764 their wives, and the common people were not interested in a
762 practice that was foreign to them. There were two sorts of
[564] widow-sacrifice: one reserved for noblewomen, the *mesatia* (" truth," " fidelity "), in which the noble widows stabbed themselves as they jumped into the same fire with their dead husbands; the other, for the prince's low-caste wives and concubines, the *mebela* (" to die together with the master "), the one described by Friederich, which consisted in jumping into another
[775] fire apart to be burned alive. A woman who died in *mesatia* became a *Satiawati*, " The True One," a deity.

From the time their decision was made, the widows were regarded as already dead and deified. They lived a life of constant pleasures, exempt from all duties and constantly attended by the other wives. Their feet were not supposed to touch the impure ground and, like goddesses, they were carried everywhere, lavishly dressed and half-entranced. A Brahmanic priestess was constantly at their side, encouraging them to their sacrifice with flowery descriptions of the beauties of life among the gods. Friederich tells that when the time came, they were so thoroughly hypnotized that " they jumped into the fire as if it were a bath."

However shocking this practice may seem to us, it is not difficult to understand why it was acceptable to the Balinese; the
762 764 scriptures not only sanctioned it, but even encouraged the sacri-
775 fices, and to the victims it was a short cut to attain the higher spiritual state ever so much more important than their insignificant physical life on this earth. Both the early Dutch narrative and Friederich make it clear that no compulsion was used and that the women to be sacrificed had to make their decision by the eighth day after their husband's death. They could neither withdraw nor volunteer later.

[648] The Dutch did all that was in their power to stamp out this practice and set a strict prohibition on widow-sacrifices. The last
178 official cremation in which a woman was burned took place just
764 after the conquest of South Bali; we were present, however, at a
762 cremation in Sukawati at which we were told by a reliable in-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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former that the noble wife of the deceased prince had died conveniently in a mysterious manner three days before the cremation in order to be burned together with her husband. Despite the Dutch claim of having suppressed widow-sacrifices, it seems that the custom was already dying out, like many other extravagant practices that became too costly. Nearly one hundred years ago, during two years' residence in the island, Friederich witnessed only one case of widow-burning, that which he describes.

THE AFTERMATH

To have got rid of the corpse that, with its uncleanliness, bound the soul to the material world, despite the strenuous sacrifices of the family and the countless rites performed does not yet mean that the duties of the descendants are over. It is now essential that the liberated soul be consecrated by further ceremonies, often even more elaborate than the cremation itself, as one of the *pitara*, the full-fledged ancestral deities. After this the soul receives the name of *Dewa Yang*, literally a "God," and is allotted a resting-place in the family temple to protect the household.

There are further minor ceremonies within the next twelve days after the remains have been disposed of, such as the *metuhun*, when the relatives congregate and through a medium, usually a medicine-man, a *balian* in a trance, communicate with the soul to ask if all is well. I was told that once the *balian* encountered difficulties in establishing contact with the soul, but an old woman relative suddenly went into ecstasy and spoke to the spirit of the dead man in order to inform the anxious family of the success of the cremation. Then there are the *ngerebuhin*, when the soul receives offerings, and the *mapegat*, the final breaking of the last ties with this earth, symbolized by burning a thread and smashing egg-shells. The relatives, the house, and the precious objects used in the ceremonies that were not meant to be destroyed have still to be cleansed from the impurity they acquired by their contact with the dead. But the

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

*796 [778] (*tatakan*), and joined at the top. Into this body were pushed, besides the central liver, separate weavings for each of the following:

tangkar	chest
toelang iga-iga (2)	rib bones
basang wajah	the old belly
basang ngoeda	the young belly (intestines)
odel	navel
lilit linting	sinews or blood-vessels? (literally, coiling)

The head was a fan-shaped *linggih-linggihan*, similar to the one topping the *tjanang rébong*. A final addition was the *djan sesapi*, or bird-ladder, indeed formed in the shape of a ladder with two winged birds at the top, inserted into the body "*apang dadi widiadara-widiadari ke tengah*" (so that the *widiadara-widiadari* may get inside). When ready, a few grains of rice and a sheath of betel were dropped into the two figures, and flowers added to adorn their headdresses. Each was then dressed in a little skirt of calico, tied on with a sash. They were placed on the shelf of the *Balé Pengaroeman*, the male to the right and the female upon his left,[14] to await the evening when the spirits would arrive to enter into them.

Members' feast (*Bandjar ketegakan*)

[252] It was now long past midday, and men of the *bandjar* who had been busy all the morning with their steaming, boiling, mixing and grilling of delicacies — an activity quite apart from all that had been going on for the honor of the demons and the gods — had now finished their savory task, and were ready to go home to enjoy the fruits of their [264] labor. The feast of the members, an essential part of temple festivals in [178] the old-style villages, has been dropped as a communal activity in the villages of this district. The members prefer to take each his share home with him, so that he may enjoy it in private, and together with his family. But the term used is still *ketegakan* (to be seated, to eat together), just as if the members had sat down in formal lines to a communal repast. The men left the temple, each bearing his allotment of raw meat, *lawar*, *saté*, and rice. Towards evening the *bandjar* would again be recalled, but this time, for the great majority, it would be the women of the household who came.

Giving of offerings (*Matoeran*)

*796 782 5 p. m. Shortly before sundown, one could see coming along the lanes leading to the temple, along the foot-paths and along the rims of the rice-field walls, lines of women bearing each an offering on her head.

[14] In other districts we have seen 2, 3, or 1 *gegaloeh*. Sometimes it is said that all are female, sometimes that they are one male and two females, etc.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

for export sailed to Singapore, bypassing Java, because of the Moslem pig scruple. Javanese, on the other hand, tended to look on the Balinese as boors, a people with a distantly related heritage which might have allowed them to become as "refined" (*aloes*) as the Javanese, but who somehow missed. This sense of distance remained although Balinese students who reached the higher educational levels under the school system were transferred to Java to pursue their studies in normal and professional schools. An *Anak Bali* (Balinese) was still very different from an *Anak Djawa* (Javanese) though they had learned to speak a common language and read the same books—about as different as a Frenchman from an Italian, though not as different as a Frenchman from a German. At a conference on Balinese culture arranged by the Java Institute in 1937, Javanese scholars and princes looked with mild interest and amusement for the first time at Balinese versions of the same legends and themes the Javanese perform, while the Balinese comment was "the Javanese style is so slow we go to sleep."

February 21, 1942 *to March* 2, 1946. During the period of the invasion and occupation by Japanese forces, Balinese resources were depleted to supply Japanese troops; food, clothing, and building materials became very scarce. Japanese propaganda fed in at this time stressed the "Asia for the Asiatics" theme in an attempt to consolidate the feeling of Balinese, Javanese, and other Indonesians to bring them together in a revolt against European influence. It appears that only a few of the younger Balinese in the urban centers found this propaganda to their taste, while the majority tended to consider any proposed Javanization an affront to their religion and an attempt to abolish the caste system about which their whole real and symbolic life is structured. In other words, Balinese responded to Japanese proselyting as they had in former years to any attempts to Mohammedanize or Christianize them, by a reiteration of their desire to be themselves and to preserve their own way of life. Nonetheless, political unrest stirred up at this time created, with the introduction of political factions, a closer tie with Java than had been present under the more peaceable Netherlands' rule.

1946 *to* 1948. After an initial period of chaos, during which the Japanese authorities were no longer present and new authorities had not yet been established, political strife was at its peak, and the action of the young Republican leaders in Java carried reverberations to Bali. To remove the eastern islands from the political impasse in which divided Java found itself, the Dutch forged a new administrative

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

In the old style villages with dual organization, the chief buildings in the temple court are the long, beautifully proportioned *balé agoeng*, often a pair, parallel with each other, called right (*kiwa*) and left (*tengen*). Here the ceremonial seating and feast of the council of elders takes place. They are seated then in two long rows facing each other, according to rank (seniority), and "balancing" the two sides of the village. At times a second duality is introduced by having the ceremonial seating in the left hand *balé agoeng* at dark moon (*tilem*), in the right hand building at full moon (*poernama*). This duality theme may recur in contemporary ritual where it is not apparent in social organization.

Godly Representations. When we pass from these old style villages to the more usual type, we may find remains and reminders of this old organization. There may be a *balé agoeng* though the council of elders and the dual organization no longer exist. There may be a ceremonial "seating of elders," that is people who go into trance as a rule, spokesmen of the gods. The thing which carries through from this old style organization to the rituals of the more modern villages and those which have come under Hinduistic caste influence, is the ceremonial feast at which these old people take part *representing* the gods. The evidence of the godly presence is in the sacramental meal offered to the gods in their persons, the food which they do not eat and the rice wine which they pour out in libation on the ground. "If the gods are pleased, they will come down," say the Balinese. If trance occurs, those who speak with the voices of the gods give further evidence that communications between the living and the inhabitants of above (*ring locwoer*), deities and ancestral spirits of dead kings and their courts, are set up and maintained. The gods are to be propitiated, their protection invoked, their will to be done.

Balinese people the world above and the world in which they live with vast hordes of demons (*kala*), evil spirits (*tonja*), and witchlike spirits (*léjak*) who follow the gods about, come to the feast which is spread for the gods, and are likely to devour all the offerings prepared for the gods before the gods have a chance at them. For these demonic hordes special offerings are therefore made and set outside the temple on a temporary rough shrine or on the ground. The people describe these demons as the rough, uncouth servitors of the gods, who are sure to accompany them and to be extraordinarily hungry, just as such servitors would come accompanying a prince if he came on a visit.

The one power which can hold at bay these demonic hordes is the *Barong*, a holy masked figure of a lion or tiger, played by two men, who dances around the village and around the outside of the temple to protect it. As

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

would give in. After a time she did relent, and when a month had passed, agreed to the purification ceremony, mesakapan, which solemnizes a marriage. But within three days of the ceremony she could stand no more, and again escaped. It was too late to return to her home, especially as her mother and sisters had been in favor of the marriage from the beginning. She ran away to the town, where she lives at the present time, kept by an Arab merchant.

This case suggests that the women can, and sometimes do, rebel against marriages arranged with their cousins. Certainly with the peaceful times under the Dutch administration, when it is safe to visit other villages without fearing assault, and the increased freedom of communication by motor-bus and bicycle, the young people are more apt to resist an unwelcome marriage. There is infinitely more opportunity for a free choice, based on mutual attraction, than there was. In the old days, living in the enforced isolation of the village surrounded by hostile camps, if a girl refused her cousin or neighbor she might get no husband at all. Also, she was the more likely to be pleased with him, so few were the youths of her acquaintance with whom she might compare him.

We have seen that marriages of first and second cousins, both maternal and paternal, are frequent, and that no special distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins. In Balinese the name for them is the same: misan, first cousin, mindon, second cousin, whether paternal or maternal, whether cross or parallel. Marriages of third cousins are more difficult to trace, as there is no term for them other than the general term for brother, relative, njamă (low Balinese), semotonan (high Balinese).

The ordinary incest taboos are as follows: a man may not have sexual connection with his mother, his sister, his half-sister, or the mother of his half-sister or half-brother (that is, his mother's co-wife). The penalty for this first degree incest, according to records of ancient adat, includes immediate banishment from the formal limits of the village, a great purification ceremony with animal offering to the bad spirits, and sometimes a rite whereby the offending pair are dressed in the yokes worn by pigs, and made to approach on all fours and drink out of a pig's drinking trough.[1] Subsequently the two are to be banished from the village for life and their lands confiscated. As such banishment in the old days left them no recourse but to wander off in the jungle, there to be hunted by wild beasts or to face death from starvation, the punishment amounted in fact to a death sentence. No other village would take in people banished from their own

[1] Recorded as part of the adat of the village Bocoengan, district of Bangli (Ida Bagoes Made Hadipta in Bhâwanâgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 71).

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet—is the focus of the political community.[6]

To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infractions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will, and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters—for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

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though he may have some traditional status in the particular hamlet within the perbekelan of which he himself happens to be a member, he is unlikely to have much in the others.

As the Indonesian state increases its activities in an attempt to bring the country into the modern world, the Perbekel both becomes more and more important and feels more and more keenly the uncertain nature of his position. The degree to which he is able to assert his role, to secure his dominance over traditional leadership in matters concerning the national state, and to make a true political unit of the perbekelan varies with several factors: whether or not he is energetic and intelligent, whether or not he is the descendent of a traditional local ruling family, whether or not his perbekelan happens to include hamlets having long-term bonds with one another, whether or not there are a number of young, educated men who will support and encourage his "modernization" efforts, and so on. As with the other planes described, the role of the *perbekelan* unit in rural Balinese social structure is not describable in terms of any static typological construct, but can only be seen as ranging over a certain set of organizational possibilities.

THREE BALINESE VILLAGES

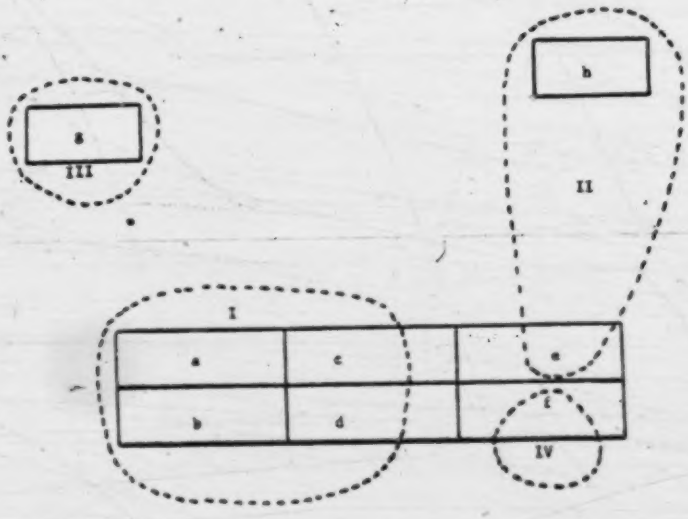
Thus far in the analysis of Balinese rural social structure the concept "village" has been studiously avoided, mainly because it is used by the Balinese in several mutually contradictory ways. Sometimes "village" (*desa*, a Sanskrit loanword) is used as a synonym for bandjar (the basic rural political unit); sometimes to refer to the Kahyangan-Tiga (temple congregation); sometimes, especially by urbanites and government officials, to the region under a single Perbekel; and, perhaps most commonly, for a vaguely demarcated region in which the planes of organization intersect in such a way that the people living within the region have rather more ties with one another than they do with people in adjacent regions. In this last and rather fuzzy sense, "village" refers to the integrative as opposed to the analytic aspects of rural social structure, and it is in this sense that the term will be used here. A village is not a hamlet, a temple group, or a perbekelan, but a concrete example of the intersection of the various planes of social organization in a given, only broadly delimited locality.

1. *Njalian.* In pre-Dutch times the seat of a minor lord and a secondary market center, Njalian lies at the western edge of the former kingdom and present regency of Klungkung, and is one of the more complexly organized villages of Bali. In Njalian virtually nothing is coordinate with anything else and the crisscrossing of loyalties reaches an almost unbelievable degree of intricacy. The perbekelan of Njalian—the present Perbekel is the head of the traditional ruling house, a *Tjokorda* by title—contains the rather large number of about 3,000 kitchens distributed among eight hamlets, six contiguous within one large settlement cluster and two spatially isolated some two or three kilometers away. There are four sets of Kahyangan-Tiga temples. To one set belong the members of four of the contiguous hamlets, to a second set belong

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 794 those of one hamlet in the main cluster and one of the segregated ones, to a third set belong only the members of the other isolated hamlet, and to the fourth only those of the other hamlet in the major cluster:

[634] [361]



The Village of Njalian

a = hamlets I = Kahyangan-Tiga sets

Even this rather involved diagram greatly oversimplifies the situation. In the first place, many people living in the territory of one hamlet are legally members of another. Further, the coordination of the temple sets with the [178] hamlet boundaries is very recent, being instituted over strong opposition by the present Perbekel in 1950, and still very imperfect. Before the change, a man belonging to hamlet "a" would often belong to temple set IV, or a man in "c" to set I, and so on, and to some extent this still occurs, for traditional allegiances are difficult to reorganize by administrative fiat. Still further, the four bandjar in temple set I—"a", "b", "c", and "d"— are not really territorial at all; though the meeting houses involved are distributed as shown, members of the hamlets attached to them are randomly interspersed through the whole a-b-c-d area. This sort of nonterritorial hamlet organization is actually frequent in Bali and was ignored above for purposes of descriptive simplicity. Finally, in Njalian the unit cooperating at a cremation—called a ***palus*** —is not coincident with the hamlet as it is in most other places. Instead, hamlet "a" is divided into two such collective work groups for cremations, "b"

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forms but one patus, "c" two, and so on. Thus a man may well have his hamlet alliance in one place (not even necessarily where he lives), his temple ties in a second, and his cremation obligations in yet a third, though of course in a majority of cases some of these affiliations may be merged.

Since Njalian contains representatives of a wide range of caste titles, the interaction of the status hierarchy with the hamlet and temple systems adds yet another dimension of complexity. Hamlet "a" consists entirely of Brahmana and higher Satria people, including the ruling family, but some lesser Triwangsa belong to "b," "c", "d", and "e", mixed in among the Sudra. Hamlets "f", "g", and "h" are wholly Sudra, with "f" consisting of but a single dadia kin group, a rather uncommon occurrence. Caste affects temple organization too. In temple set I the death temple was until two years ago divided by a low wall; the Sudra organized their festival separately and held it on one side of the wall, the Triwangsa held theirs on the other. But this has been changed for reasons of economy and democracy, and now all worship together. Voluntary organizations, of which there are literally dozens, irrigation societies, two main ones being involved in this area, and some thirty or forty kin groups also complicate social relationships, though kinship is evidently less important here as an organizing force than in many other villages.

In such an admittedly extreme case of cross-cutting social groupings, the problem of integration, of mutual adjustments among the groups, is a very pressing one. At times open fights have broken out between leaders of various groups over the question of who had prior rights on the services of members common to them. Heavy concurrent demands often mean that work is only hastily done; when the slit gong is beaten to call together members of a given group, many people fail to appear because they either were too far away to hear the gong or thought that it was being sounded for another group to which they were not obligated. To rationalize this situation the Perbekel has instituted a monthly meeting of all important group leaders—fifty people or so—in which he tries valiantly to get them to coordinate their several efforts. He has also attempted to territorialize the system more by making hamlet and temple membership dependent on residence but, though he has had a little success in this direction, most of his efforts have been resisted by the villagers who, he claims, prefer things to be complicated. Despite the fact that he is the traditional ruler of the area, that he has been Perbekel for thirty years, and that he now has the whole Indonesian State behind him, he says that there is really very little he can do in reforming village institutions. People bow and act subservient, but they do just as they wish.

2. *Tihingan.* Although it lies only six miles or so east of Njalian, in the heart of the former kingdom of Klungkung, Tihingan differs from Njalian in most of its important features. Unlike Njalian, Tihingan has never been the seat of a lord, has relatively few Triwangsa and the Perbekel is a Sudra. Unlike Njalian, social affiliations, though complexly organized, are quite systematically integrated rather than randomly crosscutting. And unlike Njalian, there are within the perbekelan three definite spatial clusters of social loyalty to

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Finally, even informal recreational interaction is shaped by extended kinship ties. It is only rarely that a man will enter the house-compound of a non-kinsman after nightfall when the most intensive gossiping takes place, though he will move freely among the yards of his dadia members. (A somewhat more consistent and literal adherence to the virilocal ideal in Tihingan than is common elsewhere means that house compounds of the same dadia tend to be fairly well clustered within the hamlet.) In cock fighting, a great part of the pattern of alliance and opposition—whose cock fights whose, who bets against whom, —is only explicable in kinship terms. In religion, politics, economics, and informal social interaction, kin group membership therefore has a primacy in Tihingan which, though it is far from representing a universal-pattern in Bali, is, like Njalian's lattice-work structure, a realized example of one possibility intrinsic in the intersecting plane type of village organization.

In this type of village organization the dangers of factionalism are obvious and the problem of containing kin group loyalties within the bounds of affiliation in hamlet, irrigation society, temple group, and so on becomes acute. Public activities are often marked by partially concealed kin group antagonisms. For example, when the hereditary priest of the origin and death temples died without an heir ten years ago, the kin groups could not agree on his successor so that responsibility for the ceremonies in these temples now rotates among the priests of the four dadia temples—a highly unsatisfactory and irregular pattern that the people themselves regard as "not quite right, but better than having an open war." At hamlet meetings in the balé the sort of universal agreement necessary to make decisions is difficult to accomplish, so that many proposals are blocked by the opposition of a minority kin group. For example, when the Perbekel tried to convince the hamlet to change funeral customs so as to bury people immediately, even on an unlucky day, rather than keep the corpse in the house for several days (a government-suggested health reform that the neighboring bandjar had adopted with little difficulty) the opposition of the dadia most hostile to the Perbekel's prevented the change from taking place, although the majority of villagers were in favor of it. Antagonisms arising out of marriages and divorces across dadia lines, economic rivalries between the musical instrument manufacturing groups, and competitive prestige displays at dadia temple ceremonies also contributed to the heightening of this sort of intergroup tension.

Yet in general, the village is fairly well integrated and factionalization is usually kept within bounds.[11] In part this is accomplished by the concurrent application of two explicit rules of procedure. The first rule is that whenever a group formed on the basis of one principle of affiliation is allocated a given social function, no other principle of affiliation may receive any recognition whatsoever. Thus if the hamlet is cooperating in some task, the work is never suborganized in terms of kinship, caste, or any other bond. If subgroups are technically necessary, people are grouped in a random manner, each family being regarded as a hamlet member pure and simple, as having no qualitative difference from any other. ("The hamlet knows no kinship," runs a Balinese

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proverb.) Similarly, when a dadia is working at a temple festival, or whatever, the sub-dadia ties within the dadia are considered to have no reality and do not act as a basis for subgroup differentiation.

The second rule sets forth a hierarchy of precedence in which the needs of the hamlet outrank those of the dadia, those of the dadia outrank those of the sub-dadlia, and those of the sub-dadia outrank those of voluntary groups. For example, if the hamlet as a whole wishes to harvest the fields of its members, then it has priority. The whole bandjar must harvest and does so as a group, with no internal differentiation. If the hamlet doesn't wish to harvest (per decision of the hamlet meeting—then the dadia have next rights, unaffiliated families either banding together or yielding their rights to one or another of the dadlia. If the dadia also decides not to harvest, then the sub-dadia may; if the sub-dadia have no immediate needs then the task is surrendered to voluntary groups. The combination of these two rules of procedure—one prohibiting multiple bases of affiliation for a single task, one establishing an order of precedence—acts as a major integrative mechanism in this otherwise rather faction-prone village.

3. *Blaju.* Unlike Njalian, Blaju is not the name of a perbekelan, and unlike Tihingan, it is not the name of a fairly well defined village unit within a perbekelan. Rather, it is the name for a broadly defined region of about six square miles at the eastern edge of the Regency of Tabanan within which the influence of a particular ruling family was preponderant in the pre-Colonial period and to a great extent continues so today. As such, Blaju forms a minuscule state within a state, and its pattern of organization is characterized primarily by a stress on territoriality and caste (or title) as bases for social affiliation. Perhaps more than any other area of Bali, Blaju approaches the common stereotype of peasant social structure as being organized in terms of a pyramid of increasingly inclusive territorial units—barrios, villages, subdistricts, districts, and the like—each unit ruled by an attached political official of appropriate status. But, unfortunately for the sort of theory which would like to see in this system a survival of an "original" Balinese pattern from which all else could be adjudged a "deviation," this hierarchical territorialization is a quite recent phenomenon, occurring as a consciously motivated social innovation explicitly designed to intensify social integration.

The area commonly denominated as Blaju contains four perbekelan, three contiguous, one a kilometer or so to the north. The members of these four perbekelan—about 1500 kitchens—support a common set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples, a rather unusual circumstance, for commonly Kahyangan-Tiga congregations are usually smaller and are less extensive than a perbekelan. Within each of these perbekelan there are four hamlets, and each of these hamlets is further divided into from three to six territorial subunits called *kliran.* A kliran has arbitrarily fixed borders and each adult living within these borders is ipso facto a member of that kliran. It is the kliran, averaging eighteen to twenty kitchens, which performs most of the important day-to-day social functions, and it is the basic cooperative work unit in planting-harvesting, ritual, and the

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like, having its own independent treasury, rice shed, and meeting place. For larger and more important local tasks the klirans of one hamlet will fuse as a single unit; in the same way hamlets unite within perbekelan for affairs of government, and perbekelan unite within Blaju as a whole to support the Kahyangan-Tiga temples. As the irrigation societies in the Blaju area are small and land holdings are not so scattered, irrigation societies tend to be more or less informally identified with the perbekelan and hamlets closest to them, so that the whole system becomes territorialized through and through.

At the geographical center of this whole territorial complex, facing the market and the main crossroads, lies the "palace" (*puri*) of the ruling family, a walled-in, shabby-genteel complex of houseyards, temples, alleyways, and open courts about a city block square, tightly packed with more than five hundred people comprising a single Vesia-level dadia. The head of this dadia, Anak Agung Ngurah Njoman, is at the same time customary law chief for the whole area of Blaju—i.e., the four perbekelan within the Kahyangan-Tiga set. Though largely an honorary position concerned with giving advice in matters of custom, this apical role symbolizes the continuing dominance of the ruling family in the area. At the perbekelan level, two of the four perberkel are from this family (one of them again being the Anak Agung himself), the other two being ranking Sudra with traditional ties to the "castle."

The role of this elite group is strengthened in many ways. First, unlike many Balinese aristocrats, the Blaju ruling family is not impoverished. About one-fifth of all rice land in the area is still in their hands (though it is owned individually, not collectively, within the dadia), and as almost all this land is sharecropped by Sudra tenants who also have corvée obligations to their landlords, traditional patron-dependent ties remain of central integrative importance. Second, although the members of the ruling dadia live all in one place and so should be members of a single hamlet according to the territorial system, they are by traditional practice distributed among the sixteen bandjar in more or less equalized groups. They are assigned bandjar membership independent of their residence so as to insure a voice (and an ear) for the ruling house in each locality and to strengthen the unity of the whole region. Third, there is in Blaju a major temple, rivaling the Kahyangan-Tiga in importance, which is supported exclusively by all the people in the region who bear Triwangsa, upper-caste titles, thus symbolizing the importance of status and serving to ally all the local high prestige groups with the ruling dadia in its largely successful effort to maintain the traditional stratification system unimpaired.

As noted, this rather neat integration of territorialism and status is not altogether a traditional matter, but stems in part at least from rather recent reforms. The kliran subhamlet pattern, the distinctive element in the whole system, was only instituted in 1940. At this time the hamlet system was very weak, kinship unimportant, and most village functions had fallen into the hands of voluntary seka groups. "People" felt—evidently under prodding from the aristocracy, which began to reassert its leadership at this time—that

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there were too many such groups, that they made for conflict, for a decrease in valuable public activities, and led to a kind of individualism. "The seka got rich, but the bandjar got poor." Thus all the sixteen hamlets decided at once to institute the kliran system and to ban voluntary organizations for all important functions. And when the Dutch left in 1941 the ruling family further intensified its efforts to strengthen the status system which had also been weakened in the general move toward a less organic society, producing the present pattern of organization. Territorialism in Blaju is thus not a simple survival from the distant past, but the outcome of the interaction between traditional values and the quite untraditional events of the twentieth century.

In such a system integrative strains are likely to appear across caste lines, and despite all the bowing and scraping one sees in Blaju, Sudra resentment against Triwangsa domination is quite evident. When a small Sudra dadia of Sunguhu which traditionally has the right to patronize priests appointed from among its own members rather than Brahmana ones, attempted to institute this system in Blaju a few years ago, they were expelled from their hamlet under intense Triwangsa pressure on the basis of "injuring local custom and denigrating the upper castes." Despite heavy pressures from the central bureaucracy and some local sympathy for the rebels, the Blaju upper castes held firm and the Sunguhu ultimately capitulated. But, irrespective of such strains, Blaju is rather more tightly knit than most Balinese villages: all the 1500 families were members of a single national political party, and one of the few really effective consumer-producer cooperatives in Bali was located in Blaju, its effectiveness being mainly attributable to the fact that it, too, had 100 per cent membership.

SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Of the many theoretical issues growing out of the analysis of Balinese village organization, among the most interesting are those centering around questions of typology. Typologizing has always been a central concern of social anthropology because both descriptive simplicity and comparative generalization rest on the possibility of summarizing social organizations in terms of constructs at once ethnographically circumstantial and formally distinctive. Whatever their shortcomings from more sophisticated theoretical perspectives, such types as "The Indian Village," "The Chinese State," or "The Nuer Kinship System" (to say nothing of "Peasant Society," or "Segmentary Social Organization," which are perhaps best seen as second order types of types) seem essential to comparative analysis of even the most rudimentary sort. But the Balinese case, in which this methodologically fundamental task of discriminating wood from trees seems unusually difficult of accomplishment, suggests that some of the assumptions underlying our usual typologizing procedures may be in need of revision. Particularly, and perhaps paradoxically, they suggest that clues to the typologically essential may as often lie in rare or unique phenomena as they do in common or typical ones; that essential form